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Anything fragrant, as pineapples, etc.; also cakes, native Isneg sweets, on account of their fragrance, lest her weakness increase.

She is also forbidden to eat any kind of fish for three days after the birth of her child. If both she and her child have enjoyed good health so far, she is allowed to partake of it, after the third night provided it is cooked outside the house and brought in only after it had cooled down. Should she infringe any of these taboos, she liable to become sick, which in this case is called *madawig*.

All Isneg parents are very anxious to give the head of their babe the right shape: so, if the little poll is much too markedly oblong, the grandmother or, in her absence, any other woman lightly presses one of her heels (*túman*) against its soft part, on top, while the little patient is sprawling on the floor; this is called *tumánan* (past tense: *sinúman*; from *túman*, "heel"; in Iloko, *túmen* means "knee"). In other places, for instance at Bayag, they use another means in order to make the head of the newborn child nicely round: a small squash, duly hollowed out and thoroughly dried, is placed over it in such a way as to fit it exactly.

The period of confinement differs in duration from place to place, and it probably depends very much on the state of the mother; this is perhaps also the reason why the number of days during which some taboos have to be observed, is not always and everywhere the same. In general, however, it may be said that the period of strict confinement does not go beyond one week; after that time, the mother first does some light chores in and around the house, and later on proceeds to her ordinary duties.

In some places she goes to the river (*mamáwa*) two days after the birth of her child; but usually this necessary formality is performed on the fifth day, even though for the rest she continues to remain at home for a much longer period. At Bayag, for instance, it takes her one month before she is allowed definitely to leave the house and to start cleaning the yard, although she made her ceremonial visit to the river on the usual day, the fifth after her delivery. When going to the river the mother protects herself from either rain or sunshine by means of a *sarikaw* (a kind of large round flat hat made from palm leaves). In most places she goes there alone; in Bayag, however, she is accompanied by her husband, who also watches her while at work.

But what happens at the time of that visit to the river? What is meant by *mamáwa*? Here is what was told me by the generality of my informants, including Bayag people: the woman goes to the river

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in order to take a bath, the first one after the birth of her child. Now, as to discrepancies in the testimony of my informants:

Only Bayag (Bayag branch of *Ö* dialect) people, and all of them, called this visit of a mother to the river by the name of *mamda*. Others told me either (Abbil branch of *Ö* dialect) that *mamda* was said of a ceremony that takes place at the river after the death of a married woman, and which will be described in due time, or (Bolo, Kumaw: Main branch of *Ö* dialect; Lettuakan: K branch of *Ö* dialect; Dibagat, G [Abbil?—Ed.] branch of *Ö* dialect; Karagawan: Bó dialect) that they knew nothing about its meaning. None of the latter seemed to be cognizant of any special term for the ceremonial bath of a woman after her delivery.

Everybody agreed that the mother took along with her a few herbs (*kaddát*) and a piece of ginger (*basón*), articles which have been referred to in a preceding paragraph. But while all others stated that everything was taken back home, one Bayag informant told me that the herbs were thrown into the river and left at the mercy of the current, so that the spirits might smell them and go downstream instead of following the mother. It should be noted in this connection that the smell of ginger is usually loathed by the spirits.

Another Bayag informant included ashes (*abó*) among the articles taken along at the time of the bath in question. He said that a few ashes and a part of the ginger were left at the bathing place and the rest brought home and placed at the foot of the ladder.

The same Bayag man who told me about the herbs being thrown into the river, also emphatically denied the taking of a bath by the young mother. "She goes to the river", he added, "in order to wash her clothes for the first time".

Is it possible to disentangle this whole network of seemingly contradicting statements and to make them all agree? I think so, provided we separate the municipal district of Bayag from the rest of Apayaw. Then we should have something like this:

At Bayag: husband and wife go to the river, take along herbs, ginger and ashes. Once there, the woman takes a bath; but some women may be reluctant to enter the cold water so soon after their delivery and so they may confine themselves to the washing of their clothes. Before leaving the river, they either throw the herbs, whose smell is enjoyed by the spirits, in the river, or leave ashes and ginger, whose smell is loathed by the spirits, near the bathing place, or perhaps do both. Once at home, they put the rest of the ashes and of

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the ginger at the foot of the ladder. If necessary, other herbs and ginger are always available to take the place of the abandoned ones.

At other places: the young mother goes to the river and takes a bath. Nothing is changed with reference to herbs and ginger, which she took along at the time of her ceremonial bath and which she continues to carry on her person afterwards.

With reference to the meaning of *mamawa*: originally it may have been applied to any kind of ceremonial ablution; later on, it may have been restricted either to the bath of a woman after her delivery (Bayag), or to the ceremony performed after the death of a married woman (Abbil).

While the mother stays inside the house, the other inmates, men not excepted if necessary, take over her ordinary duties, such as fetching water, gathering vegetables, and so on. Bayag is the only place where the husband is forbidden to leave the house for a definite number of days, as has been explained before.

The husband does not sleep with his wife for from two to five months after the birth of a child; everything depends on the state of the mother and the strength of the baby.

Should it happen that Christian Iloko merchants from the lowlands come along to sell their wares, which usually consist of clothes, at the time there is a newborn babe in the house, the Ineg father will never fail to get a few strips of cloth as soon as his Iloko friends open their packs, and to burn these rags under the nose of the little one. This ceremony is called *rumidméd*, and not to comply with it is said to be *kannaw* (bad, taboo). Such burning of cloth for magical and similar purposes is an almost universal custom all over northern Luzon. The Kankanay burn a piece of cloth and throw it outside through the door, at the same time mumbling a prayer, whenever one of their children is addicted to continual crying. The Iloko (Christians) burn cotton or rags not only at the birth of a child, but whenever somebody is sick in the house: they say that the smoke strengthens the breathing of mother and child or of the sick person, as the case may be. When bringing the little one to church for baptism, one of the attending group usually has a burning sliver of cotton in the hand and constantly keeps it as near as possible to the infant that has to be christened, at least if the priest does not object. If they know him to forbid such practices, they try to hide their diminutive torch in time before his coming, somewhere outside the building: the very offensive smell, however, rarely fails to betray them.